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A CONFERENCE BETWEEN Two Souldiers Meeting on the Roade, the one being of the Army in ENGLAND, The other of the Army in SCOTLAND;

As the one was coming from London, *the other from* Edinbrough.

The first Part. [Tall done]

Printed at *Newcastle* in the Year 1659.

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The fi-ll-P^rt.

Printed at *Newcastle* in the Year 1659.

A Conference between two Souldiers Meeting on the Roade, the one being of the Army in England, *the other of the Army in* Scotland.

England. WEll met fellow-souldier, whence do you come?

Scotland. *I come from* Scotland.

Engl. What news from thence? we hear you are beginning a new Warr.

Scotl. *No, no, what we do is in pursuance of our Good Old Cause, to stand up for the Parliament, which we hear you have forceably interrupted, and turned out.*

Engl. I pray you let us step aside, and a little reason together: What is the Good Old Cause so much spoken of? Were you a Souldier at the first beginning of the Warr, and can remember what was then Declared as the cause of our taking up Armes?

Scotl. *Yes, and then I went out for the preservation and defence of the true Protestant Religion, the Kings Person, the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Laws and Liberties of the Subject.*

Engl. Let us pass by that of the Protestant Religion, which was soon after left out of our Commissions; for we needed not fight for a Religion, but that we might enjoy Liberty to exercise our Religion. How did you pursue the Cause? Did you, who are now the Army in *Scotland* consent to the taking away the Life of the King, whom you were to defend, who by the Laws of the Land was our Chief Ruler?

Scotl. *Yes; for when upon better information we found, That Kings were made for the people, and not the people for Kings: That men are free born into the World, and not any mans slaves; that no man ought to have a Native and Hereditary Right over others. But that the power under God is originally in the people, and to be derived from thence, and that all trusts are conditional; We believed that*

the King was as well bound to defend his people, as his people were to be subject to him; and that if he failed of the one, they were discharged of the other, else the King might destroy them at his pleasure; and finding that the King had betrayed his trust, and endeavoured the ruine of his people, we took our selves not onely bound to defend our selves against him, but also to call him to an accompt as guilty of the highest crimes, for destroying the end of his trust, making his power an advantage to our ruine.

Engl. Then you were of our mind, That the safety of the People is the supreme Law, and therefore you consented to take away the King. What did you for the Priviledges of Parliament? Do you not remember, That there was an Act of Parliament, to which the King consented, as well as both Houses, that the Parliament, nor either House should not be dissolved without their own consents, or an Act of Parliament to be passed for that purpose? Did you not also consent to the taking away of the House of Lords, which was one of the Houses of Parliament?

Scotl. *When we found that the House of Lords, as well as the King, exercised an Authority by Prerogative over the people, without their consent and deputation, it was seen fit to lay them aside also, as inconsistent with the peoples Liberties.*

Engl. Was not this the highest breach of Parliament Priviledges, not onely to interrupt, but wholly to dissolve one of the Houses of Parliament, and that not for one Session onely, but for ever? And I pray you, when Kings and Lords were taken away, which were two essential parts of the Parliament, was not the Parliament then dissolved, he being dead by whose Writs they were called, which gave them the being of a Parliament, and could live no longer then himself?

Scotl. *No; for the House of Commons could not be dissolved without their own consent, and an Act to be passed for that purpose.*

Engl. How could they be a Parliament, which could do no Act of a Parliament? Or how could they be dissolved by an Act, when no Act of Parliament could be passed for it? they had taken away the Lords who were to advise, and the King who was to consent.

Scotl.

Scotl. *Its very true, and therefore they presently changed the Government, and declared themselves to be a Parliament, without King, or House of Lords.*

Engl. Did they not thereby dissolve themselves, and cast off their former power? And then, from whom did they derive their new Authority? the People onely chose them to go up, and to consider and advise of the great things of the Nation with the King and Lords, and not to take all the power to themselves, both the Legislative and Executive, to do what they list, and as long as they pleased, making the former Act of Parliament (which had no such intention) a colour for it. But since you are so much for the House of Commons; whether, I pray, did you consent to the turning out so many Members at several times?

Scotl. *Yes, for we found that the honest party of the House, who were for carrying on the good Old cause, were over voted by a Major Party, and we were forced to it, or else our Cause had been lost.*

Engl. And were not those most High breaches of the Priviledges of that House? And how could the remaining party be called a free Parliament? The People chose the whole Number, and gave them power; and after you had turned out whom you pleased, should the People be bound by the rest? were they the Peoples, or not rather your Parliament? But do ye remember when those we called the honest Party came from the House to the Army, and brought their Speaker with them, and left the rest who over-voted them? Did not you own the lesser Party, and forthwith go to *London*, and turn out the other? I pray, by what Law was it done? and whether, if either party could be called a Parliament, the lesser, or the greater? And whether did you not in 1653. consent to, or afterwards approve the turning out the remainder of the whole House?

Scotl. *I must confesse we did so, and were still forced to it, for carrying on that Cause which we were called unto, and took our selves bound in Conscience to prosecute, for the defence of the Peoples Liberties.*

Engl. Well, it seems you grant, that for the Liberty of the

People, you contended, in stead of defending, to destroy the Kings Person; in stead of preserving Parliament Priviledges, wholly to take away the House of Lords, and over and over to interrupt and turn out the Members of the lower House; and at last to end the sitting of the whole. And I pray you, Have not divers Elections been since made by the People, which (by an Act made by the King, Lords and Commons, they had power to do) make void, and supercede all former Authority derived from them, if any was in being.

Scot. *I am not fit to Judge of these things: But I conceive they were a Parliament at last, till 1653. or a new Election: But I dare not consent that they were dissolved any sooner, for many dangerous consequences would follow, and all Laws since made might be rendred invalid, to the loss of the whole Nation, and many particular Persons.*

Engl. They did not in this last Convention so well consider, who at one breath, as I may say, by an Act thrice Read and Passed in one day, made void whatsoever had been done from 1653, to 1659. without considering the weight and concernment thereof, to the manifold damnage, not onely of thousands of particular persons, but to the hazard of the Peace of the three Nations, rendring the union of *Scotland* and this Nation invalid, and opening a way for the *Irish* to return upon the *English*, and turn them out of their Habitations in *Ireland*, and thousands of other mischiefs, which was one great Reason, necessitating the Army to put an end to their sitting. But should I tell you, that they were dissolved in 1648. it would neither reproach them, nor diminish that power which they exercised in carrying on the work with us, nor injure the Rights of the People: And should I also say, that all things done since the end of the former sitting in 1653. that are pursuant to the ends of our Cause, are by as good Authority: there will be no contradiction to these Principles which ye have walked by, and must own as well as we, as the warrant of our proceedings, which will justifie us in the sight of God, and in our own Consciences, and in due time unto men.

Scot. *I confess that it was really done to pass such an Act:*

But I pray you, and tell me what other ground, or necessity you had to dissolve them now, for that is the great thing which dissatisfieth us, and which we cannot bear.

Engl. Though it might seem a strange thing to you, yet we cannot but wonder, that you who had joyned formerly in the like Acts of necessity with us; nay, we may say, in much higher; and knew the integrity of many thousands of your fellow-souldiers in *England*, and their desires after Justice, Righteousness, and true Freedom, should so hastily Publish a *Declaration*, and not rather first send some honest and understanding men to us, to be informed of the Grounds and Reasons of our proceedings, and should still persist and pursue your *Declaration*, to the hazard of the Peace, and raising a new War in these Nations, which may make way for a third Party to divide the spoil, and lose the Fruit of all our Travells. But to satisfie you further of our Grounds; We that were upon the place, and near them, found by dayly experience a heady faction growing in the House, who having a design to engrosse all power into their own hands, to make themselves absolute; and not onely to give what Laws they would to the people; but to settle what Government they list, and to perpetuate themselves during their pleasure, (who were but a very few of those that are interessed in the management and successe of the same Cause, and ought to share with them, and be as well satisfied in the settlement to be made;) First contrived to bring the Army to their will, by causing them to take Commissions from their Speaker; and then (by raising another Force) made way to supplant them; that so, as if any person should in the least crosse their designe, or shew a dislike to any thing they did, they might, with a Vote of the House be laid aside, upon the least Information of any Member, without Hearing or Tryal, though the matter was false; which having carryed on, they presently began to shew their further purpose; disproved, and gave a cheque to the sober and modest Petition of the Army, a Priviledge that the meanest and lowest of the people claim. And without proof or hearing, pickes nine or ten of the chief Assertors

of

of our Liberties out of the Army, and layes them aside; and intended further to have proceeded with more, as is too evident. All which more fully appears by the *Armies Plea*, and *Declaration*; to which I refer you.

Scotl. *But I pray you, How can it be lawful for the servant to rise up against his Master? Did not you lately restore them to the Power, and acknowledge them, and take Commissions at their Barr, and receive their pay?*

Engl. That they were Masters, and we their servants, does not appear by our restoring them to the power, but rather the contrary; and that we might as well take it from them, as give it to them, when they abused it. And as for our owning them to be a Power, and receiving Commissions and pay from them; they had born part with us in the heat of the day, had councelled, advised, and acted with us, as interessed in the same Cause; and we were willing, as they were the remaining persons that held out to the end of that *Civil Authority* which God had blessed with us in carrying on the work, to take them long with us; and as being a more popular way, then any single person, and more sutable, then meerly the Power of the Sword and that which would give betrer content to the people, till such an equal and just frame of Government could be setled as might fully answer the ends of our War, and so great an expence of blood and Treasure. Yet give us leave to tell you, We were no more servants then they; we received Pay, as being allowed to us, that we went a warfare for the people. They also had Pay, provided by Law proportionable to their expences. Are the Souldiers servants to their Officers, because from their hands they receive their pay? Are the Officers servants to the Parliament, because they are paid by their Order, not out of their own, but the peoples purses? And are not the Members of Parliament as well servants to the people, who have allowances provided for them? Yea rather, are not both the Parliament and Army servants to the People, to preserve and defend them, and their just Rights and Freedoms? If therefore both Parliament and Army, shall joyn to destroy the people, May they not both with-hold their

Pay,

Pay, and defend themſelves againſt them, if they can? and the like againſt either.

Scotl. *I doe not well underſtand this, for the Parliament is the Body of the People; and they Called, and Commiſſionated the Army, and payd them; and therefore the Army are Servants to the Parliament.*

Engl. That the Parliament was the Body of the People, we deny not; and when it came to paſſe that a difference fell between the King and them; they called to the people, (in effect thus;) *We are your Truſtees, your Deputies, you ſent us up hither to preſerve and maintain your Rights: the King hath highly violated many of them, and ſtill perſiſteth, and by force will compell us to yeild to him. Therefore come and aſſiſt us, and ſtand up for your ſelves in your lawfull defence, and for your liberties.* The people chearfully to proſecute thoſe ends, came, and took up the Sword, managed the Warr, with the advice of their Repreſentative Body, not as ſervants to the Parliament, but as thoſe that intruſted them, that were bound to defend them, while they purſued the ends of their preſervation, and ſafety: Not as Servants, or Mercenary men, for Wages, (for the Parliament neither had it, nor did give it, but out of the peoples purſes;) but as Free-men of *England*, for their own liberties, unto whom God hath given the Victory; who now ſtand not bound in Duty and Conſcience to any aſſembly of men, no more then formerly to the King, to be commanded to doe their wills: But as Members of the *Engliſh* Nation, to purſue the juſt ends of their undertaking, for recovery and preſervation of their liberties, as well againſt any Parliament that ſhall violate their Rights, as againſt King and Lords, and no more to yeild themſelves ſlaves to any new Power or Government, then they did to the old.

Scotl. *I am not willing to ſay any thing againſt former proceedings, becauſe we had our hands therein, as well as you; but this, both you and we may pleade for our ſelves, neceſſity forced us to it: But we cannot ſee any neceſſity for this raſh undertaking.*

Engl. Doe you not remember how often the *Army* hath pro-

Promised, Covenanted, Remonstrated, and Ingaged, yea, over and over again, to endeavour a through Reformation, and such a setled provision and security for preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the people, as Men, and as Christians, as should not be liable to future violation? If they should fayle of this, were they not most perfidious unto God, and treacherous to the people? And when they found the Parliament neglecting their duty; and on the contrary, beginning to lay aside the chiefest worthies of the *Army*, who had hearts most enlarged, and integrity most unspotted, and were every way best fitted, not onely for the conduct of the *Army*, but for carrying on the good ends of Warr; should the Souldier sit still, and hold their peace, and suffer such to be set over them, of whom they had little, or no experience, whose Principles were known inconsistent with Christian Freedom, whose interest or abilities, were not able to withstand the common Enemy; but on the contrary, gave them new encouragement, and fresh hopes.

Scotl. *We cannot easily beleeve these things, that the Parliament could have any such designes, for they have still carryed on the Work with us.*

Engl. Doe you not remember, after the King was delivered into our hands, what tampering was made, what endeavours used for patching up a peace with him, and how long was it, and with what difficulty obtained, to have Votes passed for no more Addresses? Was not the *Army* forced to Petition from all places and quarters, to have Him and other Delinquents brought to Justice? (when they found by his seclusion from all evill Councellors on whom, till then, they were still desirous to lay the blame (that he was chiefly guilty.) And afterwards how did they still neglect to pursue their duty, the good ends of the Warr, but as they were even constrained to it? How often were we forced to accuse, and impeach, and turn out their malignant tempers, purge them over and over, and at last turn out the whole? I pray you look back, and tell us, what good *Act* did they, to which they were not forced? How often has the *Army*, and other good people, Petitioned them?

them? and how often were they by them checked, in ſtead of thanked? Doe but conſider how long time they had, between 1648. that they changed the Government, and 1653. that they were diſſolved, and how few *Acts* they made, that are purſuance to the change oc Government, and of continuing good to the people? Which of our burthens are eaſed? which of our grievances redreſſed? does not the whole Land groan under heavy preſſures, which in a ſmall part of that time, might have bin eaſed?

Scotl. *We are of the ſame mind with you, that they were bad enough in time paſt; But, we hope, that juſt rebuke and ſhame which they have ſo long layn under, has made them ſenſible of former miſcarriages, and that they would not double their diligence, and improve their time to the beſt advantage.*

Engl. Our hope of that, was a great inducement to us, to call them together: But we ſoon found our miſtake; for within a very few weeks, they began to fall into ſidings, and parties, and the worſer got the upper hand. Their time for neer ſix Moneths, they paſſed away, almoſt wholly in ſetling the Power of the Nation, both Military and Civill, in ſuch hands, as they conceived would be true to them, and their abſolute authority, with ſuch artifice, that not any man might ſpeak a word in diſlike of their proceedings, but they could turn him out with a word; ſo that, what they had a mind to doe, the people might take; and what they diſliked, neither the Army, nor any others might offer nor aske.

Scotl. *We conceive that the Military Power, ought to be ſubject to the Civill, and this was but to bring the Sword in to the peoples own hands.*

Engl. We know not why the Civill power ought to be called the peoples hands, more then the Military; we know where the people hath found their greateſt ſtrength, and we hope the Army is as much Civill, as the Magiſtrate: and we confeſſe, the ends of our warr being anſwered, and ſecured; both Swords belong to the people. But had the Body of the People of *England* the Sword in their own hands; you, as well

as we, know how ſoon they would deſtroy both you, and us, and themſelves. And for this Aſſembly, neither to ſettle a Government, with ſufficient caution, and ſecurity for the enjoyment of our Liberties, our dear bought purchaſe, nor to Declare at what they aymed in order thereunto; but raſhly to ſubject all honeſt men, and honeſt intereſt of the Nation, to the wiſedom, will, and plea ure of the Houſe, and thoſe that ſhould ſucceed them; argues either a very bad deſigne, or groſs inadvertency, not to be readily ſuffered; and had we yeilded to that prevayling party, we may well ſuppoſe the honeſt intereſt of the Nation had been layd very low in a ſhort time.

Scot. *But we theare, the chiefe difference began about Generall Officers, and we are of the ſame mind with the Parliament, that there are enough Generall Officers, for we have found how dangerous it is to have men in ſuch great power, they may make themſelves Kings, or Protectors, or what they pleaſe.*

Engl. If the Parliament was againſt Generall Officers, why did they in one day make ſeven; the *Army* deſired but three or foure, to render their Conduct more intire and regular, and with ſuch ſubordinations as became their ſeverall Truſts; having found by dear bought experience, That there is no ſafety, but in order and diſcipline: And they were ſuch perſons, as the *Army* knew, and had tryed, and durſt follow in the greateſt hazards, ſuch as the Parliament themſelves, as beſt deſerving, enployed in the higheſt Truſts with the Army; and of whoſe fidelitie, they had been ſufficiently aſſured. And you had no reaſon to be offended at it, for your Generall was one, ſo great eſteeme had the *Army* of him. But we may well ſuppoſe, That had the *Army* pitched on ſome perſons of the Parliament, they had not been blamed for asking Generall Officers; which clearly appears by thoſe mens carriage, who while they oppoſe the *Army*, carry on their own deſigne, to get themſelves named, and then with greedineſs accept it. But I pray, why does your Generall, and Chief Officers blame us, as having a deſigne to bring the *Armies of Scotland and Ireland*, in ſubjection to the *Army of England*: and that to nine or ten Perſons,

ſons, and it may be thoſe to a ſingle One? May we not much rather ſuſpect, that the Parliament, who puts the whole truſt of the *Armyes* of the three Nations into ſeven hands, which are leſſe then nine or ten, had a more dangerous purpoſe? Your Generall in *Scotland* they name for one; Lieutenant Generall *Ludlowe* (who was to be in *Ireland*) for another; Colonell *Overton*, who was to be at *Hull*, for a third: Then three of the remaining party, which they had prepared, all of one mind, might do with Generall *Fleetwood*, what they pleaſed, and how ſoon one of thoſe three might out-wit, or over perſwade, if not over-power the other two, let any man judge; and whether the Parliaments way, or *Armies* deſire, was more like to ſet up a ſingle Perſon? And thus were the *Armies* of the three Nations, which hitherto have been wiſely managed by the Generall, with the advice of his *Councill of Officers*, brought to the will of three Perſons, (and thoſe ſuch, as the *Army* ſeldom knew in the Feild, an of whoſe Spirits and Principles, they knew much, and heard more) either to carry on their deſignes, or to be turned out at their pleaſure.

Scotl. *I confeſſe now you ſay very much, and I begin to be ſenſible of a greater danger then I could before imagine.*

Engl. Nay, my Fellow-ſouldier this is not all; But to purſue their deſigne further; they haſtily paſſe an *Act*, That it ſhould be Treaſon for any Man, to Receive or Pay any Monies whatſoever, for Publique uſe, without conſent of the People in Parliament. If they continue to ſit, It appears they Reſolved, not to give the *Army* a Farthing, till they became ſubject to their wills, and quit their intereſt in the Good Cauſe we have bin ingaged in; but rather to provoke, and encourage the People to riſe up againſt them. What ſad and dangerous conſequences might have followed, we may well conceive, but we dare hardly ſuffer to enter into our thoughts; God of his mercy (to the poor People of *England*, and to reſcue their almoſt loſt Liberties) hath, we hope, prevented them.

Scotl. *But ſurely the Parliament intended only to bring the power of the Army into the Peoples hands, and there to leave it:*

for

or it could not be out of any self designe; they passed a Vote not to sit longer then May next.

Engl. Alas, I have you already, to put the Sword into the peoples hands, that is, the Body of the Common people, is at once to make voyd all that ever we have been doing: That the Sword (while it is in the Armyes hand) is in the peoples, that is, the good peoples hand, and for them whom God hath given the Victory and Power unto, we do plainly Declare: and that we are in their steads, being in Number as many as at present needs, the rest of our Brethren are in other services, and in their Callings, and we are one in interest with them, as also for the good of all, yea, even our Enemies, that in the end of all our Travells, Peace, and Righteousnesse, and Justice, might abound to every one. And as to what you say, *That they passed a Vote to sit no longer then* May *next*: Doe you not know how easie a thing it is, one day to Vote, and the next to unvote? What preparation did they make then to end their sitting? *Was not their great and main Work to settle the Government*? I pray what progresse did they make in that? Had not they spent halfe their time, meerly to secure themselves, and get all power into their own hands, and scarse took notice of the Government? And if you say, *That they had yet time enough for that, five or six Moneths before them*: it seemes strange that in five Moneths they can now doe that, which they could not in five Yeares before. But to settle the Government is not all, the whole Nation is to be brought into complyance with it, and all things to be regulated accordingly; and if they could have settled the Government in the first Moneth, we conceive there had been work enough for them to have done the whole Yeer, after in pursuance thereof, and so those will finde, that come to undertake it. But that they intended to spin out the time, and put a necessity upon all, to have them sit longer, further appeares, in that they kept the whole Nations of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, without any Civill Judicatures, and all

Offices,

Offices, both Civil and Military in this Nation, almost in their own hands, giving only very short times both to the Lieutenant General of the Army, and also to the Judges, that so all things might either die with themselves, and leave the three Nations in confusion; or all men might consent of necessity, that they might continue. None were fit for any thing but themselves, no others worthy to be trusted: How many worthy men stood ready and willing to contribute their assistance, which might have enabled the House to have done more in a Month, then themselves alone, by a Parliamentary way, could do in six? What desires were made, that it might be heard, what honest Men had to offer concerning a Government, the great concernment of the Nation, and all people therein; and that a Committee for that purpose might be appointed, that so we might have the advantage of the choicest Lights in the Nation: But, as if they would make, that all Wisdome, as well as Power, was confined within the Walls of that House, they would keep all to themselves. And if they intended (as you say) to sit no longer then *May* next, so much greater is their blame, to subject all to their Successors, of whose regular Election, (notwithstanding all the limitations and qualifications they could provide) we could not be assured, nor of their adherence afterwards to the Good Cause of these Nations.

Scot]. *But alas, now you have dissolved all that had any face of Civil Authoritie in the Nation; Nothing remains, but the Sword to Rule and Govern, which is a thing we hate as much as the people can do.*

Engl. That which we have dissolved, its true, had the Face, but was no more the Civil Authoritie of the Nation, then the Sword; for by vertue of that have they Ruled: That there was not both a Good Government, and Civil Authority setled, was only their own fault; and their neglect, was the cause of their first Interruption, and our late Innovations, men finding in so many years, so little Fruit from,

from a Parliament, which made even the name of a Parliament loathsom to all men. But it seemes while they can Rule with the Sword, its well enough, and a good Civil Authority: But when the Sword cannot fulfil their Will; then all must be Rebels and Traitors; And all that now they went about (or chiefly) was to get the Sword into their own hands; but what they would have done after, few know, only we may guesse by their former carriage.

Scotl. *But I pray, what do you intend further? I hope you do not purpose alwayes to keep up the Sword. When shall we have a Parliament, for that only will satisfie us, and the people.*

Engl. To Governe by the Sword, is not more hatefull to any, then our selves; and had the late Assembly gone about the framing and setling such a Government, as might have answered the ends of our late warrs and troubles, they had taken a wiser course to have engaged both Army and People to them. And as for the calling of a Parliament; so soon as a Forme of Government is agreed, upon such Principles and Foundamentall Constitutions, as may fully secure our dear bought Liberties; you will hear, that the Calling of a Parliament will be the first work.

Scotl. *How! when a Forme of Government is agreed on; I pray who must agree in that? Can any do it but a Parliament?*

Engl. In *England* heretofore, Parliaments never had it in their power to meddle with, or dispute the Forme of our Government, that was never in question before them; Kings were alwayes granted to be our Chief Rulers; and therefore here is the ground of your mistake: The difference betwixt King and Parliament, was not about the Government, but the Lawes by which we were to be Governed; which after a Government setled, will be left to Parliaments, as before.

Scotl. *Who then must appoint a Government?*

Engl.

Engl. You must consider, That our Warr hath not been betwixt the people of a whole Nation (wherein all were of one mind) and a Forreigner; but a Civil Warr amongst our selves, one party against another, and a third party looking on. And finding in the pursuit of that just Cause of Liberty which was begun, That the very Form of Government was as well burthensome, as the Ruling Person and his Prerogative; we saw it necessary, to lay aside both together; which though it begat us new Enemies, and was opposed by many; yet, God was pleased to prosper, and give us the Conquest over them. And now (to tell you the truth, in plain terms) we conceive, that in deciding this Controversie, God hath not only given power to those that were Instruments in carrying on his Work amongst us, to secure their own Liberties; but also to see such a new Form of Government setled, as will fully establish the Rights of all other men, and deliver them from that bondage, under which they have long layne, both as to the inner and outward man; from which God hath now rescued them with a strong hand, as he did our Fathers of old from *Ægyptian* slavery. And we conceive it is not only the Right, but the Duty of all those whom God hath kept stedfast, to carry on this Work; not only to see a Form of Government setled in room of that which is cast down, but such a Form as will in the Principles and Fundamental Constitutions thereof, fully settle and secure our Liberties, as Men and Christians, the sum of that good Cause in which we have been so long Engaged. And that they ought not to give up the Power which God hath given unto them, unto the common Neutral and Disaffected Spirit of the Nation to Judge of, and Determine what hath been the Quarrel, and what shall Satisfie and be the Price of so much Blood and Treasure: which is the only cause, why we Dislike a Free Parliament; that is, A Parliament Chosen by the Body of the People, Neuters and Enemies, as well as Friends.

Scotl. *Truly we fear a Free Parliament, that is, a Parliament Chosen by the whole Body of the People, as well as you: and herein we are in a strait. We are satisfied, That a Parliament is the best Government; and yet a Free Parliament will destroy us, and that chiefly makes us call for the Old Parliament, which of necessity, even for self security, we conceive would adhere to our Cause.*

Engl. As to the Old Parliament, I have said enough; and if you will have more, I pray what Jurisdiction had they over *Ireland* and *Scotland*, those by whom they were not Chosen, was it by the Peoples Consent, or our Conquest? I hint this, to shew you how much they have walked by our Principles, which they would now Condemne; and have they not still Owned us in all things we did, till 1653. and Justified us in Turning out all others, till it came to their own turn, that did as justly deserve it. And as for Parliaments, *viz.* Representatives, Trustees, or Deputies of the Peace, we are clear with you, That all Power being in the people, their Delegated power ought to be Supreme; yet, consider their Trust is still Conditional, and therefore liable to the same Question and Punishment, as Kings, or others: And we are as much for Parliaments as you can be after a Government setled. And seeing our former Government is dissolved, (I mean Monarchy,) we look upon the good People of *England*, as standing with the Sword in their Hands (which is their highest State of Soveraignty, including in it all lower Magisterial Offices) not subjected to the Rules of any Form of Civil Government; but what themselves (orderly Assembled for that purpose) shall think fit to make; which being once agreed, and setled, we do profess and Declare our free and ready subjection thereunto; and either to Return to our particular Vocations (if there can be found sufficient intrinsecal strength and vigour in any such Frame of Settlement, (our Condition considered) as to support it self against visible Opposition) or to be Servants to the People to secure the same against all Violators whatsoever.

Scotl.

Scotl. *But what? Can you set limits to a Parliament? How can you restrain their absolute Power? That will take away their Freedom and Priviledge.*

Engl. After many sharp Contests between our Ancestors, and the Kings of *ENGLAND*, our Ancestors at last got a Grant of their Liberties, which were setled in a Charter, as Fundamental Constitutions, not to be altered; and all Lawes afterwards to be made Contrary or Repugnant thereunto, were to be Void, which was yearly to be Read in publique Courts of Judicature, and a solemne Curse to be pronounced against those that broke it, which was of Force till the late Change of Government, and yet was never taken as an Abridgement of Parliamentary Power, or Restraint of their Liberties; but was rather esteemed the great Bulwarks of the Peoples Freedoms, which neither Kings nor Parliaments could alter. And therefore, (upon this new Conquest over Monarchy) we beleeve, it is the Duty of those to whom God hath given the Victory, to see such Fundamental Constitutions setled, as are Consonant to the Law of God, and Principles of Justice and Righteousness, and that just Freedom, both as to the inward and outward man, which belongs to every man, as a Member of the Creation of God, (the great Work that God hath been doing amongst us, and will carry on, and bring to passe in the whole Earth) and to see the same so fortified and secured, with Provision against all kinds of Violation, that the People may be no more put to make a new purchase of it.

Scotl. *Though you shall come to a Settlement that may have much good in it, I cannot see how you can secure it; the next Parliament will claim an Absolute Power, and will go near to Alter it, if it be but even to shew their Authority.*

Engl. If such a Spirit shall be in the Parliament, as to Alter good things setled; How much further off would they be to lay such a Foundation? And therefore such Expedi-

ents must be used, as will prevent that mischief, and yet leave the Parliament Free, which must be provided for in the Form of Government.

Scotl. *I pray what Government do you intend to set up? and seeing you claim the right of Forming a Government, what must others expect from you?*

Engl. We, that is to say, the Army onely, doe not claime any such right. But we, that is to say, the Body of the good people, adherents to this Cause in all the several Nations, who continue still faithful thereunto, (whereof wee are a part, and in our Brethrens stead, left to defend both them and our selves in prosecution of the work, till it be finished) do make this claim; not that we desire to have the Government in our hands; not that we desire the Sword should Rule; not that we desire to abridge any other man of his Liberty, or that he should be a slave, much lesse a Subject to us. But we being called together, in defence of those just rights in common, which belong to us and every man in particular; and having obtained success to our just Cause, we cannot, we dare not, (least not onely the ruine of our selves, but also of our posterities; and not onely so, but the whole Nations, whom God hath given it into our power to preserve, as well as our selves should be laid to our charge) part asunder, nor suffer our selves to be divided, till our Liberties and the Liberties of all men be secured.

Scotl. *But still you will be Judges your selves.*

England. Our own innocency and integrity, is that which justifies us in the sight of God, from whom we have our strength, *who hath judged for us.* And it is not reasonable that we should stand at the Judgement Seat of our Enemies, nor of those who have not known our Cause, nor put their hands to carry it on. Had all the people of *England* with one consent, taken part with us, there had been no such difference, as to Persons or interest. But you know, the greater part of the Nation were against as; and if they might be Judges, you as well as we understand what would be

be the issue, though in our principles, their Liberties, as well as our own, will be secured.

Scotl. *I pray you tell me what those Principles are.*

Eng. I may say in short, all our Principles are summed up in one, founded upon that just and righteous Rule, wherein is fulfilled the whole Law and the Prophets; As you would have men doe unto you, even so doe ye unto them: which includes in it the perfect Freedom, of Conscience, of Person and of Estate, and which we onely waite and long to see established.

Scotl. *If that be your Principles, I hope we shall never differ; for we doe with as much earnestnesse as your selves long to see such a Government and Lawes settled as stand upon that Foundation: And if we shall confesse, that the late Assembly was no Parliament, but that their Authority is perfectly determined, that you had good Reason and Right to end their sitting, and ought to proceed to pursue the ends of the great cause of just Liberty. It will not at all prejudice the Rights of the people; and I believe that generally the people would as little satisfied as your selves, to have that Assembly Rule over them. But these things seem strange, and contrary to our Ancient Lawes and Government; and now we know not where nor how to come to settlement.*

England. If you look upon the Parliament and their proceedings, or on the Army and theirs, you will finde that in our whole course, there was seldome any such agreement with the Rule of former Lawes and Constitutions of Government, that the actions of either could be clearly and fully justified thereby, any longer then the Law of Success and Conquest did uphold them; and the inward warrant of Justice and Righteousnes did encourage them in such their actings. Neither could it be otherwise; those Lawes that were made for the support of our former Government, being as contrary to Principles of just Freedom, as the Governours or Government it self.

Scotland. *But I hope you will not thence inferre, that therefore you may break and make void all other our good Lawes at your pleasure.*

Engl. All Lawes that are juſt and equall will be found to ſpring from the root of all power, the Law of God, which is the foundation of all Lawes that are juſt; and as they are conſonant thereunto, they will agree with that Principle which we own and hold forth, and deſire to be found in. And we ſhall be ſorry if any ſhall accuſe us of the violation of any ſuch Lawes, we hope they cannot.

Scotl. *Truly for our parts many of us (wee can ſay it) we would not fight in a perſonal quarrel, not for the beſt of perſons, neither for members of a Parliament, nor for the Officers of the Army, but for the good Cauſe of Juſtice, freedom and Righteouſneſſe in which we have been engaged, that onely will God bleſſe, who reſpects no mans perſon, that work only will be carry on, & therein (I am convinced by your diſcourſe) is the power and true Authority, and all who are found ſtanding in it, will need no other warrant.*

And now Fellow-Souldier, I muſt take my leave, being glad of this happy Meeting, and ſhall change my purpoſe of going any further Southward, and ſhall return immediately to my Brethren in Scotland, *who I hope will be much ſatisfied to hear of theſe things: Onely I would faine have ſpoken a little with you about the Government you intend to ſettle. But in a few dayes, (if you will promiſe to meet me) I hope to return, and to have a better opportunity. Till then, I bid you Farewell And ſo ſhaking hands, they parted.*

The end of the firſt Part.

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